1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

To Fehuluni are attributed strong sexual desires. If a handsome man attracted the deity he took female form and slept with him, after which the man died. A similar fate overtook any beautiful woman in whom the deity became interested. 776 833 763

The three following tales relate encounters with Fehuluni in female form: 776 773

There were two men who went on horseback to Ahau, Nomuka Island. When they reached the big *otuta* tree at Ahau, it was almost sundown. They saw a woman sitting beside the road. They stopped the horses and made them walk slowly. This woman told them to dismount, so they did. They came up to the woman and she asked for tobacco. They had none. She told them they had better go to the village and get her some. They went and got tobacco and kava and returned to her. Just before they got back to her they looked ahead and saw her without a head. She had her head in her hands and was combing the hair. They stood for a while and watched in fear. They beat their horses and flew back to the village. If Fehuluni had known they were so close she would not have frightened them like that. They discovered who she was in time. In two or three days they sickened and died.

One day a man named David Kaufusi went to Ahau, to do some work there. After doing his work he went around to the west side of the island. Suddenly he saw Fehuluni and several other women "devils" sitting on the road, juggling oranges. They looked like Tongan women. He was surprised to see the "devils" and was right amongst them before he realized it. Fehuluni was the prettiest of all. David came to a standstill and she told her woman to bring him to her and they would eat him. "We are very hungry," she said. They laid him down and ate out all his flesh, leaving only skin and bones. After the feast they blew him up with air and left him lying there. On the same day, a priestess at Ahau sent word to the people to go around to the west side of the island and bring David, for her god had informed her of what had happened to him. So the people went and found him lying there. When they went to lift him up, his skin broke. He was dead. So they brought the skin and bones and buried them in the graveyard named Fakahakonoa at Ahau. The people knew what had happened to David, because the priestess told them.

Tanisisi was the "slayer" of Fehuluni about 1890. This was when there were plenty of ducks in the lake of Nomuka. Tanisisi went out one morning to shoot ducks. He shot many. He had the bush tract Haafota, at the southeast point of the island. He shot the ducks on the lagoon and then went back to his tract. He dropped the ducks and went out to the headland, to see if there were any ducks standing on the rocks at the point of the island to warm themselves at sunrise. On the way to the point he saw a woman standing beside a toa tree. He stood for a while, but could not determine who she was, though he knew all in the town. She wore only a short tapa garment, not reaching to her knees, and no other clothes. Her hair hung to her heels. Tanisisi could not identify her, for no Nomuka woman had such long hair. She was looking away from him, facing the sea. It came to Tanisisi's mind that it was Fehuluni. He thought this when he first saw her. So he loaded his gun and fired at her. When he fired she went to nothing. He could find no body. When he came to the spot he found a dead skink (*pili*) with a wound right through its body. Fehuluni has since been seen and hence was not actually killed.

When questioned about sexual connection with Fehuluni, the informant said it never really occurs, because the deity is only a shadow which cannot be touched. People upon whom Fehuluni looks are said to go out of their minds. That Tanisisi did not go crazy is accounted for by the fact that Fehuluni did not look at him. Fehuluni usually is to be seen near the big tree 776 [833] [158]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

and clubs; and the women employed themselves in packing up bales of gnatoo* mats, &c.

One day, whilst these preparations were going forward, the king asked Mr. Mariner whether he had a mother living; upon his replying in the affirmative, he appeared much grieved that he should be separated so far from her. It is a custom in the Tonga islands, for men, (and sometimes women,) to adopt or choose a foster mother, even though they have their own natural mother living, with a view of being better provided with all necessaries and conveniences, as cloth, oil, food, &c. On this occasion the king appointed one of his wives, Mafi Habe, to be Mr. Mariner's adopted mother, telling him, that if there was any thing he wanted to make his situation more comfortable, he need only apply to Mafi Habe, and as she was a woman of consequence, it was in her power to procure him any thing that in reason he might require. This woman had afterwards as much real esteem and parental affection for him as she could possibly have for her own son.

At this time there lived in the island of Lefooga a female who for many years had been afflicted with insanity. She had become insane

* Gnatoo, a sort of cloth made of the bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

in consequence of excessive grief, partly occasioned by the death of a near relation, but principally by her child having been taken from her to be strangled as an offering to the gods, for the recovery of his sick father*. As this poor woman was considered of no use to society, Finow was desirous that she should be put out of the way; and as he was also anxious again to witness the execution of a musket ball, he one day desired Mr. Mariner to shoot her: the latter entreated to be excused from this ungrateful task, assuring the king that he was perfectly willing to risk his life in his service against his enemies; but that it was quite contrary to the sentiment of the religion in which he had been brought up, and to the laws of his country, to destroy an innocent fellow-creature in cold blood. Finow immediately admitted the excuse, without being at all offended, and the unfortunate woman for that time escaped. A few days afterwards, however, as she was walking about upon the beach, Finow ordered a Sandwich islander who was at hand with his musket to shoot her: with ready acquiescence, he levelled his piece and shot her dead upon the spot. Mr. Mariner was at a little distance, and saw the fact without having it in his power to prevent it.

* This religious rite, will be described in another place.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

687 763 727 669 now, and all the chiefs of Hapai, cursing them in the most bitter manner *, and their fathers for begetting them, and heaping maledictions upon all their generation; he went on in this manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies, till the water came up to his mouth, and, even then, he actually threw back his head for the opportunity of uttering another curse, spluttering the water forth from his lips, till it bereft him for ever of the power of speech. They were about twenty minutes sinking, after which the large canoe returned immediately to Vavaoo.

687 157 Booboonoo and Nowfaho were both men that bore a most amiable character: in time of war they were brave and enterprising; in time of peace, gentle and humane. The conduct of [682] Nowfaho, in killing the poor Hapai woman, [158] seems to make much against his humanity;

[195] [264] [266] * The curses used among the Tonga people are very numerous; but, for the most part, they are rather horrible commands than curses, and are, generally, in regard to maltreating one's relations, or eating one's superior relations; for it is considered a crime to eat food which a superior relation has touched; how much more, therefore, to eat that relation himself! For a sample;—"Bake your grandfather till his skin turns to cracknel, and gnaw his skull for your share!"—"Go, and ravish your own sister!"—"Dig up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones," &c. &c. Many of their sayings, in this way, are too indelicate to mention.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
QU9 Tonga OU9

but, as it was so contrary to his general sentiments and conduct, we ought to have the liberality to suppose, that it was a sudden frenzy of the mind, which, at the moment, he could no more help, than a man in convulsions can help the violent agitation of the body. Let this, however, be as it may, it is certain that he and Booboonoo were both admired for their mild and benevolent disposition, and were gaining every day, more and more, the love of the people, which, no doubt, caused the king to be jealous of them, lest their increasing power should ultimately annihilate his. Nowfaho's desire of revenge was, of course, considered (in their state of society) a virtuous and manly sentiment. If we attend to their conversation at the approach of death, we shall find them both expressing sentiments of disinterested friendship for each other: Booboonoo is quite unhappy at leaving his infant son, and recommends him strongly to the care of Talo by all that is sacred and religious; Nowfaho desires to be affectionately remembered to his wife; these are not sentiments that belong to gross and savage minds. As to Cacahoo, he certainly was not so much famed for his benevolence, as for his prodigious strength and great personal courage; yet still he was much beloved and respected; and several of the En-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

there was no appearance of a penis, the urine being discharged from a small orifice about the middle of the tumor, that is to say, about a foot and a half below the os pubis. The man's general health was not bad; and he could even walk by the help of a stick, without having any sling or support for his burthen: it was specifically lighter than fresh water, and considerably lighter than salt water, so as to produce much inconvenience to him when he bathed. He died at the island of Foa, about two or three months before Mr. Mariner left Vavaoo.

As to fractures, and dislocations of the extremities, it may be said that there is scarcely any native but what understands how to manage at least those that are most likely to happen; for they are very well acquainted with the general forms of the bones, and articulations of the extremities. They use splints made of a certain part of the cocoa-nut tree: for broken arms they use slings of gnatoo. In fractures of the cranium they allow nature to take her course without interfering, and it is truly astonishing what injuries of this kind they will bear without fatal consequences: there was one man whose skull had been so beaten in, in two or three places, by the blows of a club, that his head had an odd mis-shapen appearance, and yet this man had very good health, except

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

when he happened to take cava, which produced a temporary insanity. Fractures of the clavicle and ribs Mr. Mariner never saw there.

The most common surgical operation among them is what they call *tafa*, which is topical blood-letting, and is performed by making, with a shell, incisions in the skin to the extent of about half an inch in various parts of the body, particularly in the lumbar region and extremities, for the relief of pains, lassitude, &c.; also for inflamed tumours they never fail to promote a flow of blood from the part; by the same means they open abscesses, and press out the purulent matter: in cases of hard indolent tumours, they either apply ignited *tapa*, or hot bread-fruit repeatedly, so as to blister the part; and ultimately to produce a purulent surface. Ill-conditioned ulcers, particularly in those persons whose constitutions incline to such things, are scarified by shells; those that seem disposed to heal are allowed to take their course without any application.

In cases of sprains, the affected part is rubbed with a mixture of oil and water, the friction being always continued in one direction, that is to say, from the smaller towards the larger branches of the vessels. Friction, with the dry hand, is also often used in similar and other cases, for the purpose of relieving pain.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

split it open before throwing it away. An unsplit nut which had been drunk would be a great find for the medicine man who could use it to work spells on the drinker; but by opening it up one allows the emanation from himself which entered at drinking to escape. One is inclined to suppose that amongst the Tongans the Fijians enjoyed a sinister reputation for preëminence in the black art.

Possession

An interesting comparison with Tongan belief is furnished by a letter from the Rev. S. W. Brooks to the *Methodist Magazine* (1867 Pt. I, p. 462) written from Bue, Fiji, in August, 1865:

> Among the company there was one Abraham, a strange-looking man, perhaps fifty years old. He was covered with remarkable excrescences, varying in size from a pea to a fowl's egg. On questioning the simple-minded chief as to the cause of this, and the age of the man, I made out these two remarkable things: 1. That the devil was the cause, and it was because his father had given his mother a hatchet before the child's birth; 2. That he was a thousand years old.

The devil gets rather more than his due among primitive men.

The belief in demonic possession still obtains more or less amongst the Tongans. A form of hysteria is in particular associated with a diabolic visit. There is a credit, however, to be entered against all that is charged against the mischievous pranks of these other-worldly visitors. A man, partly of Tongan and partly of Fijian blood, relates that in Fiji there are those who are possessed by various gods, and whose supernatural power thus acquired is used for benevolent ends. They form a detective corps d'élite, of infallible efficacy in the tracing of stolen goods. Nor is their medical practice less availing. The fact that they sometimes console the patient with the assurance that he will die should be reckoned an indication of honesty rather than a confession of impotency. Their practice is clairvoyant diagnosis rather than magical healing, as they give practical assistance to the sick, sometimes by prescriptions of their own and sometimes by recommendations as to where they may obtain treatment. The narrator added that these possessed men and women were amongst the most zealous Christians, and noted for the exemplary goodness of their lives.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 we shall find afterwards his authority is not confind to this & the other isles we visited; and we must say that from his abundance of good sense & good nature none that we saw seemd better to deserve the eminent rank he posesses.

643 644 Notwithstanding these marks of superiority over all others, we were not however a little surprizd to find some people who are certainly esteem'd superior in rank though they seem to have little power. It was discoverd one day by a woman before whom Poulaho would not eat though she made no scruple to do so before him, and to whom when she left the house he paid the usual mark of respect as his superior—a respect we never saw him pay to any other person, though as was said before he acknowledg'd a woman living at Vavaoo to be his superior. It was also accidentally discover'd that a person nam'd La'toone-'booloo, the brother of this woman, who is call'd Moungoula kaipa,[1] was of the same rank though we never saw him touch his foot, for Poulaho would never come to a house where he knew he was, and if the other came into a house where the King was eating the last immediately left off and had the victuals put aside. He also made no scruple of taking any thing from the people even if it belong'd to the King, and though in other respects almost disregarded every one seem'd to allow him this mark of superiority, notwithstanding at the ceremony call'd Natche he assisted only in the same manner as the other principle men. We enquird of Poulaho the reason of such an odd custom and were told that when his Father was alive the sister of his father, who is the woman mentiond at Va'vaoo, reign'd jointly with him at Tonga, and that a man who came from the island Feejee had these two persons by her with a third call'd Tooeela'kaipa, their sister now living at Vavaoo,[2] who are all distinguished by the name of Tammaha and are the only persons posess'd of a tittle of such dignity. It is most probable from thence that the sister of Poulahos father being the older, her children are entittled to the superior rank though not power of those of her brother, either because they were the offspring of a stranger who they also say was a person of no rank in his own country, or that the preference is given to the male line. Another reason of their not posessing the supreme power may be a kind of madness which affects this family, at least the two we saw: for the man doubtless is guilty of many acts of folly and the people universally esteem him a sort of

[158]

[1] Latunipulu was the brother of Moungalakepa: they were the male and female *tamaha*.

[2] One cannot blame Anderson for not getting to the bottom of these relationships. The 'man who came from the island Feejee' was himself the chief Tu'i Lakepa. He married the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala III. Their children were Moungalakepa and Latunipulu, and perhaps a third of name unknown.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

idiot, nor is his sister of a common disposition.[1] He is the very person who was seen in 1773 when Captn Cook visited the island, and whose strange behaviour could not then be accounted for though it was evident his rank was great.

From the number of weapons found amongst them there is little doubt but they sometimes engage in war, though in all probability it is mostly of the defensive kind, as the greatest part of the islands they know have been conquerd by them and now form part of their dominion, so that the only enemys they have to contend with are those of Feejee which seems but seldom. This is the more probable as from the time of the islands being first discoverd they have never appear'd arm'd when they came to visit strangers, and when they brought their weapons it was only to traffic with them—a circumstance seldom found amongst Indian nations perpetually at war, who always part with their arms rather reluctantly; yet when they are engag'd it is scarcely to be doubted but they are brave though their disposition seems to incline them at all times to peace, the arts of which they are more industrious to cultivate than those of war, and from the examples we have seen it may be judg'd they are dexterous enough at using their weapons. Their good sense however informs them that they are unable to cope with those whose art has furnish'd them with superior arms, which seems to be the case with respect to us without having ever put it to the test, for we must not ascribe their fear of us at any time to a pusillanimity or cowardice which we have no reason to charge them with. On the contrary they seem not insensible that without our arms and with equal numbers they would over match us, but the dread annex'd to the idea of the effect of fire arms or indeed other missile weapons staggers them; for they are in no less fear of the inhabitants of Feejee, who they say fight them with bows and arrows.

Their Language has the greatest affinity imaginable to that of New Zeeland, of Wateeoo, and Mang'ya and consequently to that of OTaheite and its neighbouring isles. There are also many words the same as in the vocabulary of Cocos island at the end of Dalrymples collection of voyages. The mode of pronounciation differs indeed considerably in many cases from that of the first place, but a great number of words are exactly the same. It is sufficiently copious and we have had many proofs of its being easily adapted to all musical

[1] On the two preceding sentences see (to avoid too much repetition) Cook, p. 178, n. 6 above. It was quite wrong to say that the Tu'i Lakepa was 'a person of no rank in his own country'. The succession of the Tu'i Tongas was certainly in general from father to son. Anderson was right in guessing that rank was a separate thing from power; but wrong in thinking that in the context 'madness' might be relevant.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

she curses all her enemies and freely predicts for them all the major and minor horrors of a Wesleyan hell. She struggles hard and excitedly to free herself from restraining hands that she may make herself the instrument of God's vengeance here and now. The ravings and the strugglings go on incessantly. One cannot doubt, as one listens, that Christianity in its Wesleyan variety has laid the deepest and most indelible impress on the woman's mind, giving shape and form to all her worries and to all her blind striving to set her mind once more at ease. All this proves that religion is the mortar that holds together at least one Tongan woman's mind and, to vary the metaphor, provides the form in which the sick mind sets when it tries to cure itself by going insane.

Dr. Lopdell continued to treat this patient for some days. Then her relatives decided that native medicine might be more efficacious. They therefore called in a Tongan expert who diagnosed the case as one of possession by an evil spirit. The woman was thereafter dosed and manipulated and whipped in an effort to attract or drive the spirit from her body. At latest report she is surviving this treatment and apparently making a slow recovery. Her recovery, however, is never likely to be permanent.

I have brief notes from Dr. Lopdell of another manic patient, a mixed-blood girl of about twenty, the onset of whose psychosis was apparently due to thwarting in love combined with a hypersensitiveness and who felt inferiority regarding her social status among the small European community in Neiafu. Her two brothers had also displayed psychotic tendencies. As with the patient mentioned above, the girl's symptoms patterned themselves in terms of religious symbols.

Dr. Lopdell mentioned four or five other cases of Tongan insanity in which religion had played a similar role. And those who know Tongan life today realize full well that Wesleyan Christianity has come to full seeding in the life and behavior of the modern—and normal—Tongan. Churchgoing occupies a large part of his time: four times each Sunday and three times each week as a matter of normal routine; a week of churchgoing twice each day, to celebrate each new year; miscellaneous services and prayer meetings seemingly thrown in on the slightest excuse. Behind are laws of the state that not only establish a church, but implement its morality with secular authority, and a short 19th-century church history which includes among other minor events a major record of religious persecutions, exilings, and organized religious warfare—Wesleyans against heathens, Wesleyans against Roman Catholics, Wesleyans against Wesleyan schisms and Wesleyan defections. The record is not a pretty one, but if the events have done nothing else, they have at least burned Wesleyan Christianity into the hearts and minds of these Tongan people; burned it deeply, painfully, but indelibly.

Tongan life today, therefore, has been born from the mating of John Wesley's teaching with the customs of a pagan people. The birth was clumsily caesarian. Plenty of blood was spilled and a good deal of tissue that got in the way was roughly extirpated. The now adult child, however, is seemingly strong and prosperous.

Summary

The case material here presented suggests the value of a study of psychic stress in a primitive community, specifically in a present-day Tongan village. It enables us not only to revalue the predominant cultural norms in such a community, but also to trace out the lines of stress which result from the impact of such norms upon the personalities of individual members of the society. Such study is important in an aboriginal culture relatively untouched